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to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin. In Jowai he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house, but visits it only after dark (p. 76). In the veneration of ancestors, which is the foundation of the tribal piety, the primal ancestress (*Ka Iāwbei*) and her brother are the only persons regarded. The flat memorial stones set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called after the woman who represents the clan (*māw kynthei*, p. 150), and the standing stones ranged behind them are dedicated to the male kinsmen on the mother's side.

In harmony with this scheme of ancestor worship, the other spirits to whom propitiation is offered are mainly female, though here male personages also figure (pp. 106—109). The powers of sickness and death are all female, and these are those most frequently worshipped (p. 107). The two protectors of the household are goddesses (p. 112), though with them is also revered the first father of the clan, *U Thāwlang*.

Priestesses assist at all sacrifices, and the male officiants are only their deputies (p. 121); in one important state, Khyrim, the High Priestess and actual head of the State is a woman, who combines in her person sacerdotal and regal functions (p. 70).

The Khasi language, so far as known, is the only member of the Mān-Khmēr family which possesses a grammatical gender, distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine; and here also the feminine nouns immensely preponderate (p. 206). The pronouns of the second (*mē*, *phā*) and third person (*ū*, *kā*) have separate forms for the sexes in the singular, but in the plural only one is used (*phī*, *kī*), and this is the plural form of the feminine singular.

It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence

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wonderful mass of granite known by the name of the Kyllang Rock will be found in the section of the monograph which deals with geographical distribution. I have also added a photograph of the rock. The Syntengs have a story that when the strong west wind blows in the spring this is due to the advent of *U Kyllang*, who comes to visit his wife, the river *Umngot*, at that season: amongst the Khasis hills are all of them masculine, but to rivers is usually attributed the feminine gender. U Symper is another isolated rocky eminence rising from the Maharam plain close to the village of K'mawan. The best view of the hill is obtainable from Laitmawsiang on the path to Mawsynram. The village of Mawsmai every traveller from Therria to Cherrapunji knows. It is chiefly remarkable for a fairly large limestone cave, and its fine memorial stones. The Khasi theory to explain how the moon got its spots is, I believe, original, but is no more extraordinary than our own nursery tale about the "man in the moon." The *Sohpet Byneng* hill is the first hill of any size that the traveller sees on the Gauhati road when journeying to Shillong. It is close to Umsning Dak Bungalow. There are caves in the hill which are tenanted by bears. Strange to say, according to Khasi ideas, this is one of the highest points in the hills; in reality *Sophet Byneng* is some 2,000 ft. lower than the Shillong Peak. As mentioned elsewhere, the Khasis are very fond of dogs; so I have given their version of how the dog came to live with man. The well-known *thlen* superstition will be found fully described under the heading of "Human sacrifices." I have, however, thought the tale of sufficient interest to reproduce at length here. The story of the river Rupatylli is a pretty tale, and is just such a one as would appeal to the imagination of mountaineers like the Khasis. The Kopili story is important, in that it indicates the origin of human sacrifices in the Jaintia Hills; it also throws, perhaps, some light on the question of the use to which the flat table memorial stones were put in years gone by. The superstition about the crossing of the Kopili can be vouched for by many who have taken the journey from the Jaintia Hills to North Cachar by the Kopili route. Mawpunkyrtiang is a small village close to Cherrapunji. The weird tale about the Siem of Malyniang is the pride of the Maskut people, for in olden days their King.

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197 Professor Kuhn. Unfortunately, I had time to collect but a few words of this interesting dialect, as I arrived in the portion of the country inhabited by these people only a short time before submitting this monograph to Government. The Mynnar dialect appears to be akin to the Synteng, Lakadong, and Amwi forms of speech. The Mynnars observe also the Synteng ceremony of "*Bek-diep-khlam*," or driving away the demon of cholera, so that although now inhabiting a part of the country a considerable distance away from that of the Syntengs, it is not unlikely that they were originally connected with the latter more closely.

Professor Kuhn comes to the conclusion that there is a distinct connection between Khasi, Mon or Talaing, Khmêr, and the other languages of Indo-China that have been mentioned, which is to be seen not only from similarities in some of the numerals, but from the convincing conformities of many other words of these languages. He goes on to add that more important than these contacts of the mono-syllabic languages of Indo-China with mono-syllabic Khasi is their affinity with the Kol, and Nancowry poly-syllabic languages and with that of the aboriginal inhabitants of Malacca, i.e. the languages of the so-called Orang-Outang, or men of the woods, Sakei, Semang, Orang-Benua, and others; and that although it is not, perhaps, permissible to derive at once from this connection the relation of the Khasi Mon-Khmêr mono-syllabic group with these poly-syllabic languages, it seems to be certain that a common substratum lies below a great portion of the Indo-Chinese languages as well as those of the Kol and Ho-Munda group. More important than connections between words is, as Dr. Grierson points out in his introduction to the Mon-Khmêr family, the order of the words in the sentence. In both Khasi and Mon 193 that order is subject, verb, object. Taking this fact in conjunction 197 with the similarities of the Khasi and Mon vocabularies, we may conclude that it is proof positive of the connection between Khasi and Mon, or Talaing. In Munda, however, the order is subject, object, verb. This is a very important difference, for, as Dr. Grierson points out, "the order of words in a sentence follows the order of thought of the speaker; it follows therefore that the Mundas think in an order of ideas different

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from those of the Khasis and the Mons. Dr. Grierson comes to the same conclusion with respect to these languages as Professor Kuhn, which is as follows:—"Owing to the existence of these differences we should not be justified in assuming a common origin for the Mon-Khmêr languages on the one hand, and for the Munda, Nancowry, and Malacca languages on the other. We may, however, safely assume that there is at the bottom of all these tongues a common substratum, over which there have settled layers of the speeches of other peoples, differing in different localities. Nevertheless, this substratum was so firmly established as to prevent its being entirely hidden by them, and frequent undeniable traces of it are still discernible in languages spoken in widely distant tracts of Nearer and Further India. Of what language this original substratum consisted we are not yet in a position to say. Whatever it was, it covered a wide area, larger than the area covered by many families of languages in India at the present day. Languages with this common substratum are now spoken, not only in the modern Province of Assam, in Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and Anam, but also over the whole of Central India, as far west as the Berars." Grierson, having agreed regarding the existence of this common substratum, does not finally determine whether the ancient substratum was the parent of the present Munda languages, or of the Mon-Khmêr language. He says, "It cannot have been the parent of both, but it is possible that it was the parent of neither." We are thus still in a state of uncertainty as to what was the origin of these languages.

The brief description which follows of some of the more prominent characteristics of the Khasi language is based chiefly on Sir Charles Lyall's skeleton Grammar contained in Vol. II. of Dr. Grierson's "Linguistic Survey of India." It does not pretend to be an exhaustive treatise on the language; for this students are referred to the excellent grammar compiled by the Rev. H. Roberts.

The Article.—There are four articles in Khasi; three in the singular, *u* (masculine), *ka* (feminine), and *i* (diminutive of both genders); and one in the plural for both genders, *ki*.

All Khasi nouns take a pronominal prefix to denote the gender, i.e. the third personal pronoun, *u* (masculine), *ka* (feminine),

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i (diminutive). The great majority of inanimate nouns are feminine, and all abstract nouns. The sun (day), *ka sngi*, is feminine, the moon (month), *u bnai*, is masculine. Sometimes the word varies in meaning according to the gender, e.g. *u spah*, a law; *ka spah*, luxury.

Genders.—Names of mountains, stones, plants, fruits, stars, and the moon, are masculine, e.g.:—

U Lyllong, the Kyllang rock.
U mawlieh, quartz.
U pdem, potato.
U sak sawdong, sawdye.
U Jaw shai, the morning star.
U Jaw lniang, rue.
U Bnai, the moon.

Names of rivers, lakes, books, places, the sun, and all abstract nouns are feminine, e.g.:—

Ka wah, river.
Ka nam, lake.
Ka Baibl, book.
Ka Shillong, Shillong.
Ka sngi, sun
Ka jingmarep, advice.

The article *i* is used either as a diminutive, as *i khadduh*, a baby, or for showing endearment, as *i mei*, mother.

Number.—*U*, *ka*, and *i* stand for the singular number, e.g. *u khla* (a tiger), *ka khoh* (a Khasi basket), *i khun* (a child). *Ki* is the sign of the plural, as *ki maw*, the stones. *Ki* in some few instances is used honorifically, as *ki Siem*, the king, *ki khaw*, the father-in-law.

Cases are eight in number, and are denoted by prefixes. The declension of the noun *lum* (hill) is given below by way of example:—

	Singular.	Plural.
Nominative	*u lum*	*ki lum.*
Accusative	*ia u lum*	*ia ki lum.*
Instrumental	*da u lum*	*da ki lum.*
Dative	*ia, ha, or sha u lum*	*ia, ha, or sha ki lum.*
Ablative	*na u lum*	*na ki lum.*
Genitive	*jong u lum*	*jong ki lum.*
Locative	*ha u lum*	*ha ki lum.*
Vocative	*ko lum*	*ko phi ki lum.*

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The sign of the genitive case, *jong*, is sometimes omitted for the sake of brevity, e.g. *u kmie ops* (my dog) for *u kmie jong ops*. The preposition *ka* gives also the force of the possessive case, e.g. *ka ka jong ka jong* (their own). There are some nouns which change their form, or rather are abbreviated when used in the vocative case, e.g. *ko mei*, not *ka kmei* = Oh mother; *ko pa*, not *ka kpa* = Oh father. These, however, are all of them nouns showing relationships. 193

Pronouns.—Personal pronouns are *ops* (I), *ngi* (we), *nga* (thou, masculine), *pha* (thou, feminine), *phi*, you (masculine or feminine), *u* (he, it), *ka* (she, it), *i* (diminutive form of *u* or *ka*), and *ki* (they).

The emphatic form of the personal pronoun is formed by prefixing *na*, e.g. *na-ops*, *na-u*, after a verb, but not after a preposition, e.g. *don-na-ops* = it is I. But *ai ia na ops ia* [illegible]

The *Reflexive Pronoun* is formed by the word *lade* (self) being suffixed to the personal pronoun, as *u leh sniu ia lade* = he does himself harm, or by the addition of the word *hi* (self) to the personal pronoun, as *phi hi phi ong* (you yourself).

The Relative Pronoun is formed by the suffix *ba*, added to any of the personal pronouns, as *baba*, *uba*, *kiba* (who, which).

The Demonstrative Pronoun is formed by the addition of the particles denoting the position of things with reference to the speaker, e.g. (1) near = this, *ne* (*u-ne*, *kane*, *i-ne*, *ki-ne*); (2) in sight, but further off = that, *to* (*u-to*, &c.); (3) further away, but still visible = that *tai* (*u-tai*, &c.); (4) out of sight or only contemplated in the mind = that, *ta* (*u-ta*, &c.); (5) above = that, *tei* (*u-thi*, &c.); (6) below = this, *thi* (*ka-thi*, &c.); *katai-tai*, *katei-tei*, *kathi-thi* point to an object at a great distance but within sight.

The Interrogative Pronoun is the article followed by *no* or *ei* (e.g. *u-no*, *kano*, who), *u-ei*, *ka-ei* (who, which). Ei is often used without the "article," and *no* (which is restricted to persons) when declined, regularly drops the "article," e.g. *jong-no* whose? *ia-no*, whom? *sha-no*, to whom? What? neuter, in sing. and also *kaei*.

Adjectives are formed by prefixing *ka* to the root, thus *ka-* goodness; *ka-kha*, good; *ka-sniu*, badness; *ka-sniu*, bad. When

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193 *ka* is dropped, the word is no longer an adjective but a verb, and in some cases a noun, e.g. *ubo khraw* (adj.) = big, great; *u khraw* = he becomes great. An adjective may be formed without any of the prefixes *ka*, *ubo*, &c., e.g. *ka mian-tuh* = a thieving cat.

An adjective follows the noun it qualifies, and agrees with the noun it qualifies in gender and number.

Comparison.—The comparative is formed by adding *kham* before an adjective, followed by *ban ia* (than), or simply *ia*, and the *superlative* by adding such adverbs of intensity as *tam*, *ok*, *ok than*, *tam ok*, *shikaddei*, which are followed generally by *ia ur ban ia*.

Numerals.—In Khasi the cardinal number always precedes the noun (e.g. *kai sis*, three times). The following are the first ten numerals.

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1. *Wei*.	6. *Hiniw*.
2. *Ar*.	7. *Hinnieu*.
3. *Iei*.	8. *Phra*.
4. *Sap*.	9. *Khyndai*.
5. *Sau*.	10. *Shipher*.

The word *khad* is prefixed for forming the numerals from 11 to 19, *e.g. khad-wei, khad-ar*, eleven, twelve, &c.

The verbal root (which never varies) may be simple or compound. The compound roots are (1) causals, formed by prefixing *pyn* to the simple root: as *iap*, die: *pyniap*, kill. (2) Frequentatives, formed by prefixing *iei*; as *iaw*, weep; *iai iaw*, weep continually. (3) *Inceptives*, by prefixing *man*; as *stad*, be wise; *manstad*, grow wise. (4) *Reciprocals*, by prefixing *ia*; as *ieit*, love: *ia-ieit*, love one another. (5) *Intensives*, by prefixing the particle *kyn*, *lyn*, *syn*, *tyn*. Any noun or adjective may be treated as a verbal root by means of a prefix of these five classes. Thus *kajia*, a quarrel (Hindustani loan word, *qazia*;) *ia kajia*, to quarrel with one another; *kynta*, share; *pyn-ia-kynta* (reciprocal causal), to divide between several persons. [1]It should be mentioned with reference to the second class or frequentative verbs, that they sometimes take the prefixes, or particles as Roberts prefers to call them, *dem*, *dup*, *nang*, *shait*, *leew* in place of *iei*, e.g. *dem-wan*, to come after: *dup-teh*, to practise: *nang-wad*, to go on searching: *shait pang*, to be always ill: *leew-lew*, to be in the habit of devouring. There are two

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verbs for "to be," *long*, implying existence absolutely, and *don*, implying limited existence, and also meaning "to have." There is only one form of conjugation for all verbs. Tense and mood are indicated by prefixes, number and person by the subject. When the subject is a noun the pronoun is inserted before the verb. The following is the conjugation of the verb "to be" in the present, past, and future tenses :—

Present.		Past.		Future.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Nga long I am	*Ngi long* We are	*Nga la long* I was	*Ngi la long* We were	*Ngan long* I shall be	*Ngin long* We shall be
Me (masc.) or *phe* (fem.) *long* Thou art	*Phi long* Ye are	*Me* or *phe la long* Thou wast	*Phi la long* Ye were	*Men* or *phan long* Thou shalt be	*Phin long* You shall be
U (masc.) or *ka* (fem.) *long* He or she is	*Ki long* They are	*U* or *ka la long* He or she was	*Ki la long* They were	*U'n* or *ka'n long* He or she will be	*Kin long* They will be

The above simple tenses are made definite or emphatic by various means. *La*, sign of the past, when added to *lah*, sign of the potential, has the sense of the pluperfect, e.g. *nga la lah long*, I had been. *Yn* abbreviated into *'n* emphasizes the future, the particle *sa* also indicates the future; *da* is the usual sign of the subjunctive mood, *lada*, *la*, *lymda*, *tad*, *yada*, *ban*, *da* are other signs of this mood. The sign of the infinitive is *ba'a*. The imperative is either (1) the simple root, or (2) the root compounded with some word such as *to*.

Participles.—The present participle is formed by prefixing *ba* to the root, e.g. *ba long*, being. The imperfect participle is formed by prefixing such words as *ba u*, *ka da*, *da kaba*, &c. The perfect participle is formed by putting such particles as *ba la*, *kaba la*, *da kaba la* before the verb. Verbal nouns of agency are formed by prefixing *nong* to the root, e.g. *u nong knia* (the sacrificer). The *Passive Voice* is formed by using the verb impersonally, and putting the subject into the Accusative case with *ia*.

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193 *Potentiality* is indicated by the verb *lah*, necessity by the verb *dei*; *dang* and *da* show the indefinite present.

The *negative* is indicated by the particles *ym*, contracted into *'m*, *shym*, and *pat*. *Ym* is put before the verb, e.g. *'ym don briew* = there is no one; with a pronoun it is contracted, e.g. *u'm wan*, he does not come. It follows the sign of the future, e.g *phi'n y'm wan*, you will not come. *Shym* and *pat* are negative particles, and are used with *negative verbs.* in the past tense, e.g. *u'm shymla wan*, he did not come.

The use of the word "jing."—One of the most striking features of the language is the use of the word *jing*, which is employed to create a verbal noun out of a verb: for instance, take the verb *bam*, to eat; if we prefix *jing* we have *jingbam*, food. *Bat*, to hold; *jing-bat*, a handle. The use of the word *nong* has already been noticed under the heading "verbs." As an example of another common prefix, it may again be mentioned here. Thus, *nong-ai-jingbam* means a table servant, literally, one who gives food. Again, *nong-bat*, a holder, literally, one who holds.

Syntax.—The order of words in the sentence is usually (1) subject, (2) verb, and (3) object, in fact, the same as in English, and in this respect it differs entirely from the order in the languages derived from Sanskrit, and that of the languages of the Thibeto-Burman group, as far as I have been able to ascertain. For instance, in the Kachari or Boro language the order in the sentence is (1) subject, (2) object, (3) verb. In Khasi when emphasis is needed, however, the object occasionally precedes the verb, e.g. *ia u soh u la die*, he has sold the fruit, literally, the fruit he has sold. As stated before, adjectives follow the nouns they qualify, e.g. *u lum bajyrong*, a high mountain, literally, the hill that is high. Interrogative adverbs may either precede or follow the verb e.g. *naei phi wan*, or *phi wan naei*, where do you come from?

No account of the Khasi language would be complete without some reference to the adverbs which are so very numerous in Khasi. U Nissor Singh, in his admirable little book of "Hints on the Study of the Khasi Language," writes, "Adverbs are so numerous in the Khasi language that I shall not attempt to enumerate them all in this small book. Many of the adverbs,

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indeed, belong to the untranslatables of the language. We are never in want of a specific term to express the appropriate degree of any quality." To learn how to use the right adverb at the right time is one of the niceties of the language. There is a peculiarity about some of the adverbs of place which should be mentioned: e.g. *Hangto*, there (within sight); *hangne*, here; *hangta*, there (out of sight); *hangtai*, there (at some distance); *hangtei*, there (upwards); *hangthi*, there (downwards); also the interrogative adverbs *hangno*, *nangno*, whence, contain the inherent root *nga*, and it seems possible that this *nga* is the first personal pronoun I. If this is so, *hangto* would mean literally "to me there," *hangthi* "to me down there," and similarly *nangno*, *nangne* would mean "from where to me there" and "from there to me here."

Adverbs generally follow the words they modify, as *u'n leit mynta* = he will go now, but there are exceptions to the above rule, such as interrogative adverbs. The following come before those they modify: *tang shu*, *la dang* (as soon as, when); *kham*, *shait* (used to, ever); *pat* or *put* (yet); and *shym* (not); but *shuh* (more) goes last. Adverbs of past time are formed by prefixing *myn*, e.g. *mynhynne*, a short time ago. Adverbs of future time are formed by prefixing *la*. The particles *man*, *man la*, and *hala* denote repetition.

The Khasis are exceedingly fond of using double words* which add much to the finish and polish of a sentence. Old people especially have a predilection this way. It is one of the great difficulties of the language to learn how to use such double words correctly. The following are some examples:—

Nouns.	
kajain ka pep . . .	cloth.
ka kot ka sla . . .	paper.
ka lynti ka syngking .	road.
ka ïing ka sem . . .	house.
u babu, u phabu . .	babu.
u tymen u san . . .	elder.
ka stih, ka wait . .	arms (lit.: shield and sword).
u badon ba em . . .	a well to do person.
ka spah ka phew . .	wealth.
u kha-u-man . . .	a relation on the father's side.
Verbs.	
pynsuk-pynsain . .	to comfort.
ia shoh ia dat . . .	to scuffle.

* Khasi *ktin kynnoh*.

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VERBS.

byrngem-byrsit	to threaten.
shepting-shepsmiej	to be afraid.
ihthuh-ihthaw	to be familiar.
kyrpad-kyrpon	to beg.
ia lum-ia lang	to assemble.

ADJECTIVES.

basniw-basmeh	bad.
basnat-basting	active.
donbor-donsor	powerful.
don burom-don surom	noble.
bakhraw-batri	pertaining to a noble family.
baduk-basuk	poor, needy.
babok-basot	righteous.
bariwbha-riwmiat	wealthy.

ADVERBS.

hur-hur	delicately.
hain-hain	brilliantly (red).
prum-prum, prem-prem	prominently.
rymbiaw-rymboin	shrinkingly.
nior-nior, niur-niur	shakily.
ior-ior, iar-iar	weakly.
parum-pareh	many.
sip-sip, sap-sap	having no taste.

The Mikirs appear to have borrowed a small portion of their vocabulary from the Khasis. The following are quoted as examples of possible common roots:—

	MIKIR.	KHASI.
belly	*pôk*	*kpoh.*
strike (v.)	*chôk*	*shoh.*
father	*po*	*kpa.*
come (v.)	*câng*	*wân.*
rice beer	*hur*	*hiar.*
maternal uncle	*nī-lur*	*kni.*

197 The Lyngam dialect differs so much from the standard Khasi that some remarks regarding the former will not be out of place. Dr. Grierson, on pages 17 to 19 of his Volume II. of the "Linguistic Survey of India," has indicated some of these differences, which may be recapitulated here as follows. Some of the commonest verbs vary considerably from those used in
197 the standard dialect. There are also many minor differences of pronunciation. A man is *u briew*, not *u briew*, a son is a *u khon*,
193 not *u khun*. Standard *nj* is often represented by *hj*. Thus
194 *doinj* for *ding*, fire. A final *h* often appears as *k*, and an initial *b* as *p*. Thus, *baroh* (Standard), all, becomes in Lyngam *prok*.

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Standard *ei* becomes *aw*. Thus *wei=waw*, one; *dei=daw*, be necessary. The articles are frequently omitted. The pronoun *u* is used for the plural as well as the singular, instead of the Standard plural *ki*. The diminutive *i* is used with inanimate nouns. This is also sometimes the case in the Standard form.

Nouns.—The prefix of the Accusative-dative is *se* or *sa*, often contracted to *s'* instead of *ia* (Standard). The prefix of the Dative is *hanam, hnam*, or *tnam*. The Standard Dative-locative prefix *ha* is also used, and may be spelt *he* or *hy*. *Ta* or *te* are also found. For the genitive, besides the Standard *jong*, are found *ba, am-ba, am*, and *am-nam*. *Am-nam* and *am* also mean "from."

The plural sometimes takes the suffix *met*.

Adjectives.—The usual word for male is *korang*, and for "female" *konthaw*, in place of the Standard *shynrang* and *kynthei* respectively. The following are examples of comparisons:—*Re-myrriang*, good; *Mai-myrriang*, better; *U re-myrriang*, best. The Standard *tam* is also used for the superlative.

Pronouns.—The Personal Pronouns are:—

	Singular	Plural
1st	Person, *ne*	*biaw, iaw.*
2nd	Person, *mi, mei*	*phiaw.*
3rd	Person, *u, ju, u-ju*	*kiw.*

The Nominative of the pronoun of the second person singular is given once as *ba-mi*, and once as *ma-mi*. The *ma* or *ba* is the Standard emphatic prefix *ma*.

Demonstrative Pronouns appear to be *be, tei* that, and *uni*, or *nih*, this. *Be* is used as a definite article in the phrase *be jawmai*, the earthquake.

The Relative Pronoun is *u-lah*, who.

Interrogative Pronouns are *net, u-iet*, who? and *met*, what?

Verbs.—The pronoun which is the subject of a verb may either precede or follow it. Thus *ne rip*, I strike; *rip biaw*, we strike. The words meaning to be are *re, im*, and *meit* in addition to the Standard *long*. Like the Standard *don, im*, corresponding to Synteng *em*, also means to have. As in the

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193 Standard, the Present Tense is formed by using the bare root.

The Past Tense is formed in one of five ways, viz.:—

1. By suffixing *let*, as in *ong-let*, said.
2. By suffixing lah-let, as in *dih-lah-let*, went.
3. By prefixing *lah*, and suffixing *let*, as in *lah-ong-let*, said.
4. By prefixing lah, as in *lah-kyllei*, asked.
5. By prefixing *yn* (*yng*, *ym*), as in *yn-nai*, gave; *yng-kheit*, shook; *yn-pait*, broke; *yn-jai*, fell.

The Future is formed in a very peculiar way. The Standard *yn* is inserted into the middle of the root, immediately after the first consonant. Thus *rip*, strike; *rynip*, will strike. If the root is a compound, it is inserted between the two members, as in *pan-yn-sop*, will fill. Here observe that the Standard causative prefix *pyn* becomes *pan* in Lyngam. The Infinitive has the same form as the Future.

Dr. Grierson points out the following most noteworthy fact with reference to the formation of the Lyngam Future and Infinitive, i.e. that similar infixes occur in Malay, in the Nancowry dialect of Nicobar, and the Malacca aboriginal languages.

The pretix of the Imperative is *nei*, as in *nei-ai*, give; *nei-lam*, bring. The usual negative particle is *ji*, which is suffixed, e.g. *am-ji* is not.

NUMERALS.

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LYNGAM	STANDARD (KHASI).
1. *Wiw, shi*	*Wei, shi.*
2. *Ar-re* or *a-re*	*Ar.*
3. *Lai-re*	*Lai.*
4. *Saw-re*	*Saw.*
5. *San-de*	*San.*
6. *Hyrrew-re*	*Hiariw.*
7. *Hyanju-re*	*Hinniew.*
8. *Phra-re*	*Phra.*
9. *Khoodai-re*	*Khyndai.*
10. *Shi-phu*	*Shi-phew.*

The peculiarity about the Lyngam numerals is the suffix *re*, and the numeral "five" *de*. None of the other dialects of
192 Khasi possess this peculiarity. Dr. Grierson's Volume may be

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A brief note on the Khasi language.—It is not intended here to give a description of other than what occur to me to be same of the more prominent characteristics of the language.

The article.—There are four articles in Khasi; three in the singular, *u* (masculine), *ka* (feminine), and *i* (diminutive of both genders), and one in the plural for both genders, *ki*.

All Khasi nouns take the article as in French—the great majority of inanimate nouns are feminine and all abstract nouns. The sun (day), *ka sngi*, is feminine, the moon (month), *u b'nai*, is masculine. Sometimes the word varies in meaning according to the gender: *u ngap*, a bee *i jap*, honey.

Genders.—Names of mountains, stones, plants, fruits, stars, the moon are masculine, *e.g*:—

U kyllang, the Kyllang rock.
U mawlein, quartz.
U phan, potato.
U soh niamtra, orange.
U 'lur shai, the morning star.
U' tiw kulap, rose.
U b'nai, the moon.

Names of rivers, lakes, books, places, the sun, and all abstract nouns are feminine, *e.g.* :—

Ka wah, river.
Ka nan, lake.
Ka kitap, book.
Ka Shillong, Shillong.
Ka sngi, sun.
Ka jingieng, advice.

The article *i* is used either as a dimunitive, as *i khunlung*, a baby, or for denoting endearment, as *i mei*, mother.

Number—*u*, *ka* and *i* stand for the singular number. *Ki* is the sign of the pural, e.g., *u khla* (a tiger), *ka khoh* (a Khasi basket), *i khun* (a child). *Ki* is the sign of the plural, as *ki maw*, the stones. *Ki* in some few instances is used honorifically, as *ki Siem*, the king, *ki kthaw*, the father-in law.

Cases are eight in number, and are denoted by prefixes—the declension of the noun *lum* (hill) is given below by way of example:—

	Singular.	*Plural.*
Nominative	*u* lum	*ki* lum
Accusative	*ia* u lum	*ia* ki lum
Instrumental	*da* u lum	*da* ki lum

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	Singular.	*Plural.*
Dative	*ia, ha,* or *sha* u lum	*ia ha* or *sha* ki lum
Ablative	*na* u lum	*na* ki lum
Genitive	*jong* u lum	*jong* ki lum
Locative	*ha* u lum	*ha* ki lum
Vocative	*ko* lum	*ko* phi ki lum

The sign of the genitive case *jong* is sometimes omitted for the sake of brevity, e.g., *u ksew nga* (my dog) for *u ksew jong nga*. The preposition *la* gives also the force of the possessive case, e.g., *la ka jong ka jong* (their own). There are some nouns which change their form, or rather are abbreviated, when used in the vocative case, e.g., *ko mei*, not *ko kmie*, = Oh! mother; *ko pa*, not *ko kpa* = Oh! father. These, however, are all of them nouns showing relationships.

Pronouns.—Personal pronouns are *nga* (I), *ngi* (we), *me* (thou, masculine), *pha* (thou, feminine), *u* (he, it), *ka* (she, it) *i* dimunitive form of *u* or *ka*, and *ki* (they).

The emphatic form of the personal pronoun is formed by prefixing *ma*, e.g., *manga, ma-u* after a verb, but not after a preposition, e.g., *dei ma-nga* = it is I. But *ai ia ma-nga* is an incorrect form.

The Reflexive Pronoun is formed by the word *lade* (self) being suffixed to the personal pronouns,—as *u leh sniu ia lade* = he does himself harm, or by the addition of the word *hi* (self) to the personal pronoun,—as *phi hi phi ong* (you yourself).

The Relative Pronoun is formed by the suffixes *ba, ei, no, ta*, added to any of the personal pronouns,—as *kaba, uba, kiba* (who, which) *kaei, uei, kiei* (who, what), *kano, uno, kino* (what, who), *kata, uta, kita* [that, what].

The Demonstrative Pronoun is formed by the addition of the particles denoting the position of things with reference to the speaker, *e.g.*, (1) near = this, *ne* (*u-ne*) *kane, i-ne, ki-ne;* [2] in sight, but further off = that, *to* (*uto*, etc.); (3) further away, but still visible = that, *tai* [*u-tai*, etc.]; [4] out of sight, or only contemplated in the mind = that, *ta* [*u-ta* etc.]; [5] above = that, *eti* [*u-tei*, etc.]; [6] below = this, *thi* [*ka-thi*, etc].

The Interrogative Pronoun is the article followed by *no* or *ki* (e.g., *u-no, kano*, who), *u-ei ka-ei* (who, which).

Adjectives are formed by prefixing *ba* to the root, thus *bha* goodness; *ba-bha* good, *sniu* badness; *ba-sniu* bad. When *ba* is dropped, the word is no longer an adjective but a verb, and in some cases a noun, e.g., *uba khrau* [adj.] = big, great; *u khrau* = he becomes great. An adjective may be formed without any of the prefixes *ba, uba*, etc.,—e.g., *ka miau-tuh* = a thieving cat.

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193 An adjective follows the noun it qualifies, and agrees with the noun it qualifies in gender and number.

Comparison.—The *Comparative* is formed by adding *kham* before an adjective, followed by *ban ia* [than], or simply *ia*; and the *superlative* by adding such adverbs of intensity, as *tam eh, eh than, tam, eh, shikaddei*, which are followed generally by *ia* or *ban ia*.

Numerals.—In Khasi the cardinal number always precedes the noun [e.g., *lai sin*, three times]. The following are the first ten numerals:—

1. Wei	6. Hinriu.
2. Ar.	7. Hinnieu.
3. Lai.	8. Phra.
4. Sau.	9. Khyndai.
5. San.	10. Shipheu.

The word *khad* is prefixed for forming the numerals from 11 to 19, e.g., *khad-wei, khad-ar*, eleven, twelve, etc.

Verbs.—The verbal root [which never varies] may be simple or compound. The compound roots are [1] *causals* formed by prefixing *pyn, pyl, kyn* to the simple root; *frequentatives* formed by prefixing *nang* [going on], *dang* still, *iai, ia* [continues to]; *inceptives* formed by prefixing *man*.

Reciprocals are formed by prefexing *ia*. There is only one form of conjugation for all verbs. Tense and mood are indicated by prefixes, number and person by the subject. When the subject is a noun, the pronoun is inserted before the verb. The following is the conjugation of the verb "to be" in the present, past, and future tenses:

Present.		Past.		Future.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Nga long, I am.	*Ngi long*, we are.	*Nga la long*, I was.	*Ngi la long*, we were.	*Ngan long*, I shall be.	*Ngin long*, we shall be.
Me (mas.) or *pha* (fem.) *long*, thou art.	*Phi long*, ye are.	*Me* or *pha la long*, thou was.	*Phi la long*, ye were.	*Men* or *phan long*, thou shalt be.	*Phin long*, you shall be.
U (mas.) or *ka* (fem.) *long*, he or she is.	*Ki long*, they are.	*U* or *ka la long*, he or she was.	*Ki la long*, they were.	*U'n* or *ka'n long*, he or she will be.	*Kin long*, they will be.

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The above simple tenses are made definite or empathic by various means. *La*, sign of the past, when added to *lah*, sign of the potential has the sense of the pluperfect, e.g., *nga la lah long*, I had been. *Yn* abbreviated into *'n* emphasises the future, the particle *sa* also indicates the future, *da* is the usual sign of the subjunctive mood, *lada*, *la*, *lymda*, *tad ynda*, *ban da* are other signs of this mood. The sign of the infinitive is *ba'n*. The imperative is either (1) the simple root, or (2) the root compounded with some word such as *to*.

Participles.—The present participle is formed by prefixing *ba* to the root, e.g., *ba long*, being. The imperfect participle is formed by prefixing such words as *ba u*, *ka da*, *da kaba*, etc. The perfect participle is formed by putting such particles as *ba la*, *haba ' '*, *da kaba la* before the verb. Verbal nouns of agency are formed by prefixing *nong* to the root, e.g., *u nong knia* (the sacrificer).

The *Passive Voice* is formed by using the verb impersonally and putting the subject into the Accusative case with *ia*.

Potentiality is indicated by the verb *lah*, necessity by the verb *dei*; *dang* and *da* show the indefinite present.

The negative is indicated by the particles *'ym* contracted into *'m* *shym* and *pat*. *Ym* is put before the verb,—e.g., *' ym don briew* = there is no one; with a pronoun it is contracted, e.g., *u'm wan*, he does not come. It follows the sign of the future, e.g., *phi'n y'm wan*, you will not come. *Shym* and *pat* are negative particles, and with *negative verbs* in the past tense,—e.g., *u'm shym la wan*, he did not come.

The use of the word "jing."—One of the most striking features of the language is the use of the word *jing*, which is employed to create an abstract noun out of a verb: for instance, take the verb *bam*, to eat; if we prefix *jing* we have *jingbam* = food. *Bat* to hold, *jing-bat*, a handle. The use of the word *nong* has already been noticed under the heading "verbs." For example of another common prefix, it may again be mentioned here. Thus, *nong-ai-jingbam* means a table-servant, literally one who gives food. Again *nong-bat*, a holder, literally one who holds.

Syntax.—The order of words in the sentence is usually (1) subject, (2) verb, and (3) object, in fact, the same as in English, and in this respect it differs entirely from the order in the languages derived from Sanskrit, and that of the languages of the Thibeto-Burman group as far as I have been able to ascertain. For instance, in the Kachari or Boro language the order in the sentence is (1) subject, (2) object, (3) verb. In Khasi when emphasis is needed, however, the object occasionally precedes the verb, e.g., *ia u soh u la die*, he has sold the fruit, literally the fruit he has sold. As stated before, adjectives follow the nouns they qualify, e.g., *u lum bajrong*, a high mountain, literally, the hill that is

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193 high. Interrogative adverbs may either precede or follow the verb, e.g., *naei phi wan* or *phi wan naei*, where do you come from.[1]

121 18. *Conclusion.*—I have endeavoured to note down briefly above some of what seem to be the more prominent features of Khasi Ethnology, reserving a more detailed account of the Khasis for the monograph which is under preparation. In publishing this brief account, it is my hope that it may attract criticism by persons who are more familiar with the Khasis than myself, and it is my earnest desire that if experts who are acquainted with the Ethnology of the province of Burma and of that great country comprising the valleys of the Mekong and the Menam, find any points of resemblance between Khasi Ethnology and that of those regions, they will kindly bring these points to my notice, so that perhaps a clue may be found to the origin of the Khasis, which is at present so obscure.

113 [1] In the compilation of this brief notice of the Khasi language, I beg to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Grierson's Skeleton Khasi Grammar, the Revd. H. Robert's Khasi Grammar, and to Nissor Singh's "Hints on the Study of the Khasi language."—P. R. T. G.

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wedlock goes to the wife and becomes her property; but all other property is inalienable, and reverts to his family, as also does his corpse after death.

'RELIGION.—The religion of the Khásiás is demon-worship, or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are sorcerers. They invoke evil spirits as the deputies of God and the instruments of His pleasure or displeasure. The Khásiás believe in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls. After death, human beings are transformed into monkeys, crabs, tortoises, frogs, etc. Though a future state is not denied, it is treated with absolute indifference, as beyond the sphere of responsibility; all rites, ceremonies, and observances bear reference to the welfare of mankind in this world. The spirits of their departed relatives and ancestors are invoked only in so far as they are considered to influence and have power over the present life. The Khásiás burn their dead, and collect the ashes into urns, which are kept under a slab raised on four others enclosing a space. These monuments are of various kinds and sizes —one for individuals, another for a family, and another for a whole clan. There is no caste system, but each clan is called after some object of nature, as the Oak clan, the Crab clan, etc., and these names entail certain restrictions beyond which intermarriage is forbidden. The Khási religion may be briefly described as the practice of forms to cure diseases, and to avert misfortunes of all kinds, by means of ascertaining the name of the demon who is the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it.

'CHRISTIANITY.—The Welsh Mission has been labouring amongst the Khásiás and Syntengs for thirty-two years. The Christians number about 1000 [according to the Census of 1872, the total number of native converts in the District is only 85]. There are four central stations—Cherrá, Shellá, Shillong, and Jowái —and twenty-three churches. Translations of the whole of the New Testament, and a portion of the Old, are now (1876) going to press, besides other religious books.

'LANGUAGE.—The definitions generally given of monosyllabic languages are far from adequate to enable us to assign to the Khási tongue its position amongst the Indo-Chinese family of speech. Still, in the absence of a better terminology, it may be described as monosyllabic in the agglutinative stage. The monosyllabic element greatly predominates. By far the larger number of the compounds are mere agglutinations (in a modified

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sense) or juxtapositions of roots which have not thereby suffered either obscuration or absorption—that is to say, they are all, with a few exceptions, reducible to their constituent root words, which are still "current coin," and retain their power as independent vocables. The cases in which obscuration and "fusion" of roots have taken place are confined to—(1) the noun prefix *jong*, expressing abstract ideas; (2) the verbal prefixes *kyn*, *kyn*, *lyn*, *ryn*, *syn*, *tyn*, *pyn*, *byr*, *kyr*, *lyr*, *pyr*, *syr*, *tyr*, expressing causation, intensification, and contrariety. The language is found purest at Cherrá Púnjí. The Khásiás have no written character or literature of any kind of their own. Tradition says that *all* was lost while they were yet masters of the plains, whence they were driven by a general catastrophe or deluge to their present fastnesses in the hills. The following works on the language have been published: *Khásí Grammar*, *Anglo-Khásí Dictionary*, *Khásí Primer* (Parts I. and II., with Vocabulary),—all issued by the Calcutta School-Book Society; *Khásí English Dictionary* (in preparation), and an *Anglo-Khásí First Book*.

'CUSTOMS REGARDING INHERITANCE.—A Khásiá, whether married or single, if he makes his mother's house his home, is said to be earning for his *kur*, *i.e.* for his mother, or his brothers and sisters, or his mother's relatives. On his death his property goes to his mother, if living; if not, to the grandmother; if she is not living, then to his sisters; should his sisters also be dead, to his sisters' children. Should the deceased have left no sisters, the property goes to the brothers; should he have no brothers or should they be dead, the property descends to his aunts, or to their children if the aunts are not living; should the aunts have left no children, the property descends to the grandmother's or great-grandmother's sisters or children. The property of a female on her death goes to her mother, if the deceased have no children; or if the mother of the deceased is not living, the property goes to the brothers and sisters; if the sisters are dead, then their children become the heirs. If there are no such children, the property devolves as in the case of males. When a man is not living in his mother's house, but in that of his wife, he earns for his wife and children. On his death his property descends to his wife, with the exception of the ornaments and clothing worn by him during his lifetime, which go to the brothers and sisters or other relatives of the deceased. Should the deceased have been a widower, the property goes to his children, and in their absence

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

III. Explanations

1. General

Most of my informants were illiterate. The spelling of the terms was checked and corrected by my English-speaking and writing Khasi- and Pnár- friends, mentioned in para one, to whom thanks are being here once more expressed. All responsibility for spelling mistakes, however, which may have slipped into this list has of course to be borne by me.

Blanks (—) or question marks (?) in one of the columns do not necessarily mean that there is no word used, by the respective group, for the particular term. They more often indicate that my informants did not use, or know, the particular term, or that I failed to enquire about it in a manner sufficiently clear to my informants. This is particularly true of general terms, partly or fully corresponding to English general terms, such as parents or grand-parents, or the terms No. 9/*a* and *b*, 13, 15/*a*, 19-21, and 26, which were partly explained to me, by Khasi friends in Shillong, where I stayed some time after completion of field-work during the rainy season. Hence I could no more return for verification to the little accessible Wár-villages in the steep southern slopes. Although I am planning to utilise a future opportunity for such checking up, I am yet publishing the present results in the hope that they may thus become accessible to field-workers among other S. E.-Asiatic, and especially Austro-Asiatic speaking peoples.

All terms which are equal for both sexes (cf. Nos. 10, 11, 18, 19, etc.) are used with *ka* and *u* respectively. These sexdetermining preposed articles, as also the honorific *i* are specially mentioned in the list, only if this is essential for the understanding of the respective terms as in Nos. 3-5, 7, 8, or 10.

2. Special

Term No. 1 — to give birth or beget (*khа*) signifies also relatives on the paternal side as in *para kha* (paternal cousins No. 9/*c*), in contradistinction to *para kur*, 9/*b*, (lit.: cousins of the clan), i. e. maternal cousins, since the clan is a matrilineal unit. This usage of the word *kha* appears also significantly in the terms 15/*a*, 17, 18/*b*, 20, 22, 32 and, as an integral part of the Khasi kinship terminology, renders it highly improbable that the Khasi matrilineal system could lave originated in ignorance of the biological function of the father. It is a significant feature in the matrilineal social system.

The terms 3 to 3/*b* refer to unmarried but biologically marriageable youths. It will be noted that there are (and were in 1914) no indications of puberty-rites for either girls or boys. There is also no child-marriage among Khasi. The use of special terms for mature, unmarried youths is therefore significant.

Term 6 — *i* as honorific article, is at the same time indicative of diminution [23], which is remarkable for two reasons: (firstly) the diminution is used for the oldest and most respected family members, like the diminution

[23] NISSOR SINGH (1906), p. 81.

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of father in Russian (for the *tzar*, etc.), (secondly) the youngest, not the oldest, daughter performs the family rites and inherits the family-property [96]. Even in cases when there is no woman to inherit, the youngest, not the oldest son inherits [97]. Among the conservatively matrilineal Pnár (Jaintia) this term of diminution *i*, however, carries at times a somewhat contemptuous meaning, though the minorate is strongly in force also among them. The ambivalent position of this honorific term of diminution is thus significant (comp. term 9/*e* among Pnár and infra.)

Term 7 — mother: (*i mei*) — The prefix *i* used among Khasi and Wár Khasi signifies particular reverence (supra: term 6). The classificatory character of the term has been discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY [98].

Term 9// — *hep* for all younger siblings, cousins and even other young folk does not indicate the consideration which the terms 9/*d* — *kong* for older sisters and female cousins, or 9/*e* — *bah* for their male equivalents indicate. The term *san* (9/*e* among Pnár) stands here, as generally, for elder and implies a honorific meaning (comp. term 6 supra and term 13/*a* infra).

Terms 10/*a* and *b* show that husband and wife address each other by equal terms and do in no way indicate anything like an inferior position of either wives or husbands of which I did also not find any indications otherwise. It may here be mentioned that property rights even in newly established estates, vest in women and are inherited by women, — not generally men.

Term 11*d* — *ka khun khaddoh* — the youngest daughter whose important position in Khasi religious ritual, social organization and inheritance law has already been referred to sub term 6 and described in detail elsewhere [99]. The affectionate character of this term finds vivid expression in the abbreviation *ka duh*, which I heard from sisters and the father of a youngest daughter.

Term 13/*a* — *mei san* (mother's older sister). The word *san* (older) here has a definitely honorific character, although the *mei khynnah* — the mother's younger sister (term 13/*b*) may be the heir of Ego's ancestral property. This constellation corresponds to the peculiar significance of terms 6, 9/*d* and especially 11/*d* (supra).

Terms 13, 14, 15/*a*, 18, 18/*a*, 18/*b*, and the terms for cousins 19, 20, 21/*a*, 21/*b*, 22 show, like term 7 — mother (supra), classificatory character. The restriction on cross-cousin marriage is of different nature, according as to whether they belong to different households, or not, as has been discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY [100].

Term 16/*a* — *îia* (mother's brother's wife) is basically the same as term 15 — *îia kha* (father's sister) [101] though the latter is qualified by the additional term *kha*: (begetting, birth) which signifies paternal relationship (see: term No. 1).

[96] GURDON (1914), pp. 83, seq.; CANTLIE (1934), p. 11.
[97] CANTLIE (1934), p. 22.
[98] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 25, seq.
[99] GURDON (1914), pp. 83, seq. and CANTLIE (1934), pp. 11, seq.
[100] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 35, seq.
[101] In detail discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), p. 27.